

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 007600  
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FOLLOWING REPEAT PARIS 829 ACTION SECSTATE, GENEVA, LONDON, BONN,  
ROME, USUN, KINSHASA, LUSAKA DTD 11 JAN 77.

QTE: CONFIDENTIAL PARIS 00829

LUSAKA FOR HOROWITZ

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PLAB, ILO, FR, UK, IT  
SUBJECT: HOROWITZ VISIT TO PARIS ON ILO MATTERS

1. BASED ON THE VERBAL REPORTS HE GAVE US DANIEL  
HOROWITZ, US DEL TO ILO, ENGAGED IN THE FOLLOWING  
EXCHANGE OF VIEWS DURING THE VARIOUS MEETINGS HE HAD  
IN PARIS 6-7 JANUARY.

2. LUNCH WITH GABRIEL VENTEJOL, PRESIDENT SOCIAL AND  
ECONOMIC COUNCIL AND GOF DEL TO ILO.

(A) VENTEJOL WAS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE CHANCES OF  
MODIFYING ARTICLE 17 OF THE STANDING ORDERS OF THE  
CONFERENCE TO INCORPORATE CHANGES WHICH USG CONSIDERS  
USEFUL AND ON WHICH MOST INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES ARE  
IN AGREEMENT.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 STATE 007600

(B) WITH REGARD TO THE MIDDLE EAST QUESTION VENTEJOL  
REPEATED HIS OFTEN EXPRESSED FEELING THAT THIS  
SHOULD BE DISPOSED OF AT THE GB FEBRUARY MEETING SO  
AS TO CLOSE THE BOOK ON THIS CASE OF VIOLATION OF  
DUE PROCESS.

(C) A LONG DISCUSSION ON THE ILO STRUCTURE PROBLEM ENDED WITH AN EXPRESSION OF INTEREST ON THE PART OF VENTEJOL IN THE IDEA OF FINDING A SOLUTION THROUGH SOME INFORMAL ARRANGEMENTS REGARDING THE COMPOSITION AND FUNCTIONING OF THE GOVERNING BODY.

3. INFORMAL MEETING WITH VENTEJOL (FRANCE, FORWARD (UK), AGO (ITALY) WHICH FOCUSED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON THE QUESTION OF ILO STRUCTURE.

(A) HOROWITZ ARGUED IN SUPPORT OF THE PRINCIPLE OF PERMANENT SEATS FOR THE ADVANCED INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES, AGAINST ANY REGIONALIZATION OF THE GB COMPOSITION AND CALLED ATTENTION TO THE DEVELOPING EVIDENCE THAT "THE PATTERN OF COOPERATION AMONG THESE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES IS BREAKING UP." FURTHERMORE HE underscored the fact that the structure issue is acquiring great importance among US officials as well as employer and worker representatives. With regard to the group of 77 HOROWITZ pointed out that it would be unwise to consider that the spokesmen for the group (ALGERIA, CUBA) are representative of the views and positions held by all 77 members. In addition he questioned the tendency of the Geneva representatives of various countries to make decisions on their own thereby raising doubts whether they express the views of their government when they speak or only their own. Hence, the decision to undertake a visit to Africa to afford him an opportunity to

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 007600

DISCUSS THE STRUCTURE ISSUE WITH APPROPRIATE OFFICIALS IN EACH CAPITAL.

(B) AGO AND FORWARD, WITH MOST OF THE TALKING BEING DONE BY THE LATTER, SAID THAT THEY SHARED THE U.S. CONVICTION THAT THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES SHOULD STAND ON PRINCIPLE BUT FELT THAT NO ORGANIZATION CAN STAND IMMOBILE. THEIR FORMULA FOR THE COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNING BODY WAS THAT EACH OF THE FOUR GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS BE ACCORDED FIVE PERMANENT SEATS AND THAT THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN TITULAR AND SUBSTITUTE GB MEMBERS BE ABOLISHED THEREBY IN EFFECT INCREASING SUBSTANTIALLY THE NUMBER OF GB MEMBERS.

(C) CONTRARY TO WHAT HE HAD TOLD US REPRESENTATIVES IN JUNE IN GENEVA, AGO ARGUED THIS TIME THAT EVEN UNDER THE PRESENT COMPOSITION OF GB THE INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES CANNOT WIN ON IMPORTANT ISSUES AND THEREFORE WHAT DOES IT MATTER IF THE SYSTEM CHANGES

COMPLETELY AND GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE

PERMANENT SEATS IS INTRODUCED. HOROWTIZ ARGUED AGAINST THIS INTERPRETATION OF REGIONALIZATION AND INSISTED INSTEAD THAT UNDER THE PRESENT COMPOSITION THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES DO HAVE A FIGHTING CHANCE TO WIN ON IMPORTANT ISSUES.

(D) VENTEJOL, WHO ATTEMPTED TO CAST HIMSELF IN THE ROLE OF A MEDIATOR THEREBY SOFT-PEDALLING HIS BASIC UNDERSTANDING AND AGREEMENT WITH THE US POSITION, SUGGESTED THAT IF THE US IS OPPOSED TO CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES WHY NOT EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF CHANGING THE STANDING ORDERS OR OTHERWISE MAKE INFORMAL ARRANGEMENTS. AGO BRUSHED THIS ASIDE.

(E) AGO AND FORWARD OPPOSED HOROWTIZ'S SUGGESTION,  
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PAGE 04 STATE 007600

SUPPORTED BY VENTEJOL, THAT THE 7 FEBRUARY MEETING OF THE WORKING PARTY ON STRUCTURE BE POSTPONED UNTIL AFTER THE FEBRUARY GB MEETING TO ALLOW FOR MORE TIME FOR CONSULTATIONS. AS AN ALTERNATIVE IT WAS AGREED THAT HOROWTIZ SHOULD MAKE ARRANGEMENTS TO MEET IN GENEVA ON 6 FEBRUARY WITH THE GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES OF FRANCE, ITALY, UK, FRG, CANADA, JAPAN AND BELGIUM, THE LATTER BECAUSE OF ITS BEING MEMBER OF THE WORKING PARTY.

4. MEETING WITH FORWARD. A TWO-HOUR MEETING WITH THE UK DELEGATE DID NOT PRODUCE ANY CHANGES IN THE POSITIONS OF THE TWO PARTICIPANTS NOR ANY BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT LED FORWARD TO ADOPT THE AGO PROPOSAL. HOROWTIZ WAS SURPRISED TO HEAR FORWARD MAKE THE STATEMENT THAT IT WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT VENTEJOL ALSO SUPPORTED THE AGO PLAN AND THERE WAS REASONABLE EXPECTATION THAT FRG WOULD DO LIKEWISE.

5. LUNCH WITH FRANCIS BLANCHARD, ILO DG.

(A) THERE WAS A FAIRLY CLEAR AGREEMENT ON ARTICLE 17.

(B) BLANCHARD REPORTED THAT HE EXPECTS THE ARABS TO CALL ON HIM WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS TO REQUEST POSTPONEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST QUESTION PRESENTLY ON THE AGENDA OF THE GB FEBRUARY MEETING SO THAT IT CAN BE DISCUSSED AT THE JUNE CONFERENCE. BLANCHARD AGREED WITH HOROWTIZ'S SUGGESTION THAT BLANCHARD RESIST THE ARAB DEMAND AND REPEAT THE ADVICE ALREADY

GIVEN TO VARIOUS ARAB REPRESENTATIVES THAT IF THEY  
CONTINUE TO FEEL THAT A VALID CAUSE FOR COMPLAINT  
AGAINST ISRAEL EXISTS THEY SHOULD FOLLOW THE  
PROCEDURE ALREADY PROVIDED IN THE ILO CHARTER CALLING  
FOR INVESTIGATION.

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PAGE 05 STATE 007600

6. MEETING WITH KAPELLAKINDUELU, THE NEW AMBASSADOR OF ZAIRE. AMBASSADOR KAPELLAKINDUELU RECEIVED HOROWITZ VERY WARMLY AND PROMISED TO SEND A WORD TO SECGEN OF LABOR MINISTRY IN KINSHASA AND THE EMPLOYER AND WORKER REPRESENTATIVES TO REQUEST THAT HOROWITZ BE RECEIVED AS A FRIEND AND THAT HE BE PROVIDED WITH EVERY COURTESY AND OPPORTUNITY FOR MEANINGFUL DISCUSSIONS ON ILO MATTERS.

7. ONE MORE MEETING WITH VENTEJOL IN WHICH LABOR ATTACHE ACCOMPANIED. THE PURPOSE OF THIS MEETING WAS TO ALERT VENTEJOL OF FORWARD'S UNDERSTANDING ABOVE CONCERNING GOF'S POSITION. VENTEJOL RESPONDED WITH OBVIOUS DISPLEASURE AND IN THE PRESENCE OF HIS VISITORS ASKED HIS SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS FOR HIM TO SPEAK WITH FORWARD AND AGO ON THE AFTERNOON OF 10 JANUARY.

8. SUBSEQUENTLY THE SPECIAL ASSISTANT CALLED LABATT DISTURBED TO INQUIRE WHAT IT WAS ALL ABOUT. WHEN HE HEARD THE EXPLANATION HE COMMENTED THAT HE CAN SEE HOW VENTEJOL CAN BECOME A VICTIM OF THIS KIND OF MISUNDERSTANDING BECAUSE IT IS IN HIS PERSONALITY NOT TO MAKE UNCLEAR STATEMENTS OF REJECTION OF IDEAS WITH WHICH HE DISAGREES. HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE INITIATIVE TO ADVISE VENTEJOL PROMPTLY OF WHAT FORWARD AND FOR THAT MATTER AGO WILL BE REPORTING TO THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS SO AS TO PREVENT A MISUNDERSTANDING PLAYING A ROLE ON THE TWO GOVERNMENTS' DELIBERATIONS.

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## Message Attributes

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